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Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

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132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[1] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

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648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

574 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakaïrí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

000 Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

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262 574 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone [272] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A [152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "åla, åla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 439 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

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126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

594 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

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574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 [241] After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the 574 [576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, [123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his [624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One 302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black 531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
361 a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[2] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[2 [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2 [See P. 28--Analyst]

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaĭrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
●574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5,[1] was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[1] [see p. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mẽgo-zõto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.

● 574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijũs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

574 [437] always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They [534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady [533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaĩ, ĩháĩĩ huχó, ihaĩ ohuhoχõ.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/91 cont./

133 [101] Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of [482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their [286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual [532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages. 167 621 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children. Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There 574 622 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa, was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along 574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex- 576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehẽ úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil- 534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a [532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which 126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic 301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather 237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue 534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are 283

/238 cont./

*171 283 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which [574] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 286 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 352 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture,

*171 ● 574 577 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us.

[186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kũra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurápa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [558] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named põne = black piranha.

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 342 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 342 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it, [302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces [533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies [535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room. Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite [352] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table [123] and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
241 mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /czrá/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
406 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
406 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
182 as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
643 tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/267 cont./

1756 [262] [785] In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions [574] neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua [531] and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

[P 92-B]

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *awápe*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *komatí*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[262] est land. The women would participate by pre-
423 paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *komatí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[538] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahalawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

296 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

487 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*talíki*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[623] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trade or war

over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tuiãki*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*ptwa*) who was assisted by an *itãide*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. The *itãide*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itãide* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itãide* succeeded him.

The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the village feared attack the *ptwa* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yaveriadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

891 The *renangéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinaédo* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makulaedri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

296 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 577 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yenoikéma*. This

286 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawítihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawoisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawoisári*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Trumai SP23

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pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

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Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

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Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

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On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we